A half-century of change in European immigrant characteristics and implications for the incorporation of new arrivals

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Introduction

The recent influx of political migrants to Europe will challenge the administrative, economic, and social capacity of receiving nations to incorporate new migrants without strong cultural or colonial ties to the continent. As hundreds of thousands of migrants arriving to Greek and Italian borders have dispersed for resettlement throughout the European Union (EU), countries have seen unprecedented levels of asylum applications. These countries have experienced surges in labor and family-based migration in the past. During the second half of the 20th century, many European countries transitioned from emigrant to immigrant countries, experiencing similar demographic shocks as migrants entered in large numbers due to labor shortages and eventually family reunification. As EU member nations contemplate targeted resettlement and integration policies, it is necessary to situate the current wave of immigration within the broader migration histories of the receiving countries. Prospects for integration can be accurately assessed only when situated in the temporal and geographic context to which new migrants are arriving. It will be useful to understand the recent historical immigration patterns in order to identify and analyze similarities and differences between newcomers and the resident foreign-born population.

As recent arrivals disperse across Europe, they will encounter diverse political and economic conditions and countries with disparate migration traditions and success with integration. Using data from the UNHRC, we present descriptive statistics about the refugee population in Greece, focusing on demographic characteristics which influence economic and social stability of any population: age and sex structure, educational attainment and labor force participation. We then use data from IPUMS-International to compare the demographic characteristics of the new arrivals to three other European groups: the migrant populations in Greece, France, and Spain. Data from IPUMS International enable a broad view of demographic, educational and occupational characteristics by migration classifications for a wide range of countries across Europe. We present the results of comparative analysis of these groups on the same demographic characteristics. We focus on educational attainment and labor force participation as primary indicators of social inclusion and integration.

Finally, we offer analysis of these findings to assess special challenges the group of refugees may face in settlement and social incorporation in their new country of settlement.

Background

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that 1.05 million migrants arrived in Europe in 2015 (IOM, 2016). The majority of these recent arrivals have entered Europe in Greece and Italy, a volume unprecedented in recent years. Comparatively, there were 216,054 arrivals to Greece and Italy in 2014 (UNHCR, 2016). The number of asylum applications in the European Union reached 1.3 million in 2015, more than double the 627,000 applications in 2014 (Eurostat, 2016). Arrivals to Europe in 2015 were concentrated in Greece, Hungary, Croatia, and Italy, but many migrants have received protection status in other countries and recent European Union legislation provides for the relocation of asylees and refugees across the continent. Germany, France, and Spain have agreed to relocate the highest number of migrants (European Commission, 2015).

As of 2003, the Dublin II Regulation of the European Union, requires that asylum-seeking migrants moving anywhere in Europe must apply for asylum in the first EU country they enter. The country first entered must then decide to accept or reject the asylum-seeker's application. There was much criticism of the implementation and practicality of the Dublin Regulation, both by countries and legal representatives of the refugees (New York Times, 2015). The legal settlement path for refugees was further complicated by a 2011 ruling of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). In M.S.S. v Belgium, the Court ruled that Greece and Belgium had violated the European Convention on Human Rights for following the EU's protocols under the Dublin Regulation. Significant fines were imposed on both countries. It was in this already-strained environment that the 2015 Syrian refugee "crisis" unfolded. Already stressed by asylum-seeking applications, Eastern European countries like Greece and Hungary were administratively over-run by the masses of Syrian refugees who first made it to Europe's door in their borders.

Many EU countries will struggle administratively and politically to cope with absorption of these refugees into their own populations. We can look to the migration and demographic history of these countries—and compare them to the demographic characteristics of the refugees—to get a sense of how challenging this absorption process might be. We focus on Greece, France, and Spain. Legislation provides for the relocation of 160,000 migrants from Greece, Italy, and Hungary to elsewhere in Europe. As of August, 2016, fewer than 5,000 refugees had been relocated (European Commission, 2016). Thousands of migrants will remain in Greece and Italy indefinitely. For this reason, it is important that Greece is evaluated as a destination country and not overlooked as only an entry point or place of transit. We also look to France and Spain, which have agreed to take on high numbers of refugees.

France

With a long history of labor importation, strong colonial ties around the world, the largest Muslim population in the European Union[1], and growing right-wing political sentiment, France has been astutely labelled a "reluctant" country of immigration by migration scholars (Cornelius and Tsuda, 2004). French industry began importing workers from Italy, Spain and Poland in the mid-nineteenth century. During the first half of the twentieth century, immigration was also promoted by employers and pronatalists as an important part of building a modern economy. A significant contributing factor buttressing these labor-supply pressures favoring immigration was a founding ideal of the French Republic--guaranteed asylum to victims of persecution (Thierry, 2009).

Driven by the labor-needs of the private sector, the ideals of republicanism led the country to minimal control of immigration. After World War II, labor recruitment was an integral part of economic planning. By the 1960s and 1970s, the former French colonies, whose citizens held privileged status as citizens of former colonies, took advantage of relaxed immigration policies and became the primary countries of origin for France's foreign-born labor. The shift from European to mainly African Muslim immigrants from Algeria, Morocco, and other Francophone countries changed national sentiments during 1990s and 2000s. Access to citizenship and entry to the country were severely restricted by the reforms of 1993 (Bertossi and Hajjat, 2013). With these restrictions, there was a dramatic reduction to immigration levels in the 1990s and annual numbers fell below 100,000. The principle of *ius soli*—once granted automatically when a child born in France of immigrant parents reached majority—was abandoned in principle and new restrictions on its application were imposed (Bertossi and Hajjat, 2013). Despite these restrictions, the demand for labor in a population with extremely low native-born fertility led to a return of immigration numbers to 1980-levels by the turn of century.

The history of French immigration is primarily one in which there are strong historic colonial and linguistic ties; but it is also one which includes significant racial and religious differences which influenced the attitudes of French citizens as well as immigration policies. The demographic portrait of France provides the most direct European comparison to the situation of Syrian refugees in Europe today.

Greece

The migration history for Greece in the last century is a sharp contrast to that of France. Until the late 1960s, Greece was a country of emigration, not immigration. Then, as now, refugees from the east and south crossed into Greece, but for the most part the migrants were only passing through on their way to another in Western Europe. A small but increasing number of immigrants began arriving in the 1960s,

[1] According to Pew Research Center. See Hackett 2016.

entering under labor contracts with a specific employer and signed before they left their origin countries. These contracts were sparsely distributed, however, and the number of immigrant workers remained small (Karyotis & Patrikios, 2010).

In the late 1980s, the Greeks began to experience their first large wave of immigration with the political crises in Eastern Europe. The largest sending country was Albania. By the turn of the century, Greece had the largest ratio of non-native to native-born of all the countries in Southern Europe. The 2001 census of Greece reported that 7.3 percent of the Greek population was foreign-born. More than 65 percent of these were from Albania. Since there was little administrative structure to process so many immigrants, most of these new arrivals were undocumented (Papantoniou-Frangouli and Leventi, 2000).

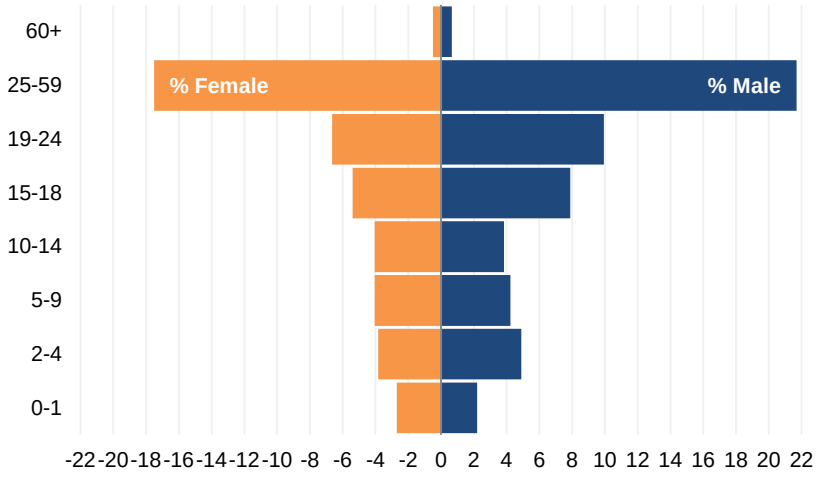
The 1991 "Law for Aliens" replaced the original 1929 regulation which provided little oversight of immigrant residents. The political discourse in the decades leading to the passage of this law centered on the problems that immigrants—especially immigrant workers—introduced into native-born Greek society (Karyotis & Patrikios, 2010). With little experience of immigrant settlement within their borders, surveys showed that the Greek population worried about perceived threats to the economic and social security of natives. However, with the decision of the Greek government to pursue the right to host the 2004 Olympic Games, the resulting political media campaign to celebrate the economic advantages of immigration changed attitudes at home as well (Lesser et al., 2001).

Spain

Spain is considered a recent country of immigration (Cornelius and Tsuda, 2004). Historically a labor exporter, Spain met labor demands through internal or regional migration until recent decades. With sprawling coastlines, Spain and the other Mediterranean countries were once European entry points for migrants coming from North Africa and the Balkans. Before Spain joined the European Community in the mid-1980s, transient groups and tourists with little incentive to integrate largely represented the foreign population in Spain (Arango, 2000). Declining fertility rates, an aging population, and expanding labor demand led to large amounts of international migrants entering Spain beginning in the 1980s (Cornelius and Tsuda, 2004). Despite poor economic conditions and high unemployment among the native-born, Spain has remained an important destination country through the early 21st century (Cornelius and Tsuda, 2004). That many low-skilled and temporary jobs in the service sector are considered undesirable by native-born Spaniards has produced an enduring demand for migrant labor. As a result, Spain's devastating economic downturn has disproportionally affected migrants, many of whom are highly educated and overqualified for their jobs.

Data

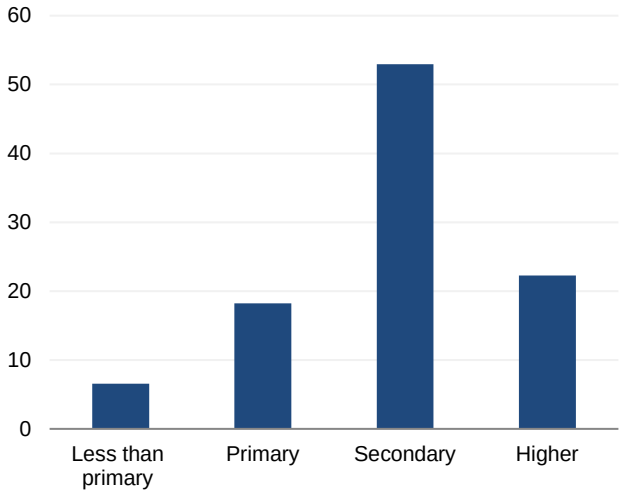
Figure 1: Population pyramid for Syrian refugees arriving to select Greek Islands between January 2016 and March 2016



Source: UNHCR 2016

From January to March of 2016, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) collected data on refugees arriving to the Greek Islands of Chios, Lesvos, Samos, and Leros. Though purposive sampling was used during enumeration, data collected by Greek authorities were used to derive weights and generate estimates representative of the population arriving to Greece during this time period. These data afford researchers and policy-makers the opportunity to identify characteristics that may affect the social and economic incorporation of these recent arrivals and develop responsive resettlement and integration policies. Syrians who arrived in Greece during the beginning of 2016 are predominantly working-age men and women and their school-age children. Figure 1 shows the age and gender distribution of this group. More than 40 percent of arrivals were children, and 60 percent of adults were men. More than 70 percent of respondents age 4 and older had completed secondary school or higher before they left their place of residence (figure 2). More than half of respondents had completed secondary but not any third-level education. The majority of men and women were working in Syrian before they migrated, most commonly in services and other sectors associated with secondary-level education (UNHCR, 2016).

Figure 2: Educational attainment (%), Syrian refugees age 4+ arriving to select Greek Islands between January 2016 and March 2016



Source: UNHCR 2016

We use high-density census microdata samples available from IPUMS-International to draw comparisons between these new arrivals and the immigrant population in Europe with an aim to assess advantages and challenges for economic integration. Since its inception in 1999, IPUMS-International has partnered with more than 100 official statistical agencies to assemble the world's largest collection of publicly available census microdata. More than one-half billion integrated microdata records, spanning five continents and covering

three-quarters of the world's population, are currently in dissemination.

The principal advantage of IPUMS-International is the reconciliation of sample-specific variable coding schemes to produce datasets that integrate records across time and space. The basic goal of variable harmonization is to make data suitable for comparative analysis across time and space by applying comparable coding schemes across all samples in the data series. Microdata are integrated so that identical concepts have identical codes. In addition to these codes, the IPUMS metadata offers general descriptions, comparability discussions, statements of universe, availability of concepts, detailed wording of the original texts and links to the source documents in the official language and English translation. Because most countries have multiple samples, it is usually possible to analyze change over time at national and sub-national levels. These pooled data are available to researchers and students world-wide free of charge through an online dissemination system.

Because of their size, IPUMS samples can be used to study small population subgroups that cannot be analyzed using other sources. This is particularly valuable for migration studies that focus on specific stocks or flows (Sobek, 2016). The IPUMS database contains considerable information on migration. The most widely available migration variables are of two general types: place of birth and place of residence at some time prior to the census. Each type records internal as well as international migration. An additional set of less common variables include duration of current residence, year of immigration, urban-rural status of previous residence, nationality, and reason for migration (Sobek, 2016).

We use these harmonized data to compile and compare descriptive profiles of immigrants to Greece, France, and Spain over the past 40 years. IPUMS data allow us to disaggregate by year of arrival and region/country of origin. Our comparative analysis has revealed three distinct histories of immigrant incorporation, detailed in the following section.

Findings[2],[3]

Migration is a multi-layered and complex phenomenon. One advantage to the data available in IPUMS is that it enables a broad view of migration stocks, flows, and migrant characteristics across many countries over a 40-year period in Europe. It is common for research about migration to undertake rich and detailed descriptions of sending and receiving countries to analyze particular migratory waves. These studies are essential, but tend to ignore the commonalities across drastically different migratory episodes. Our aim is to provide a broad picture of historical patterns of migration activity across multiple European countries in order to situate the most recent events in a much larger migratory context.

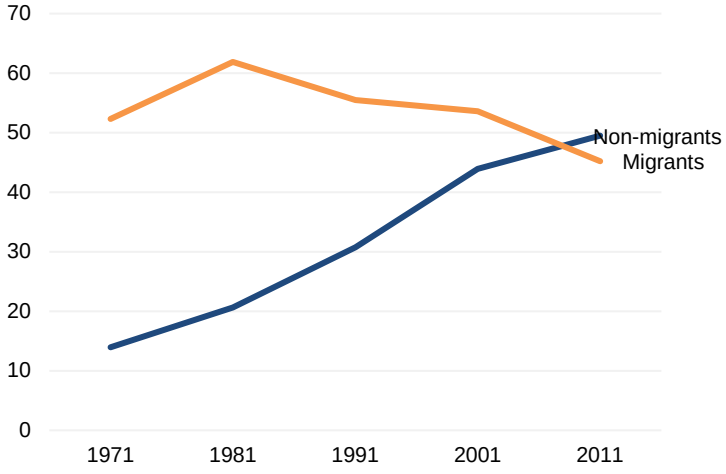
[2] Unless otherwise indicated, the authors' analysis of data available from IPUMS-International is the source for all statistics and figures
[3] These abbreviations are used in figures in this section: **EL**: Greece **FR**: France **ES**: Spain **EU**: European Union (plus Norway and Switzerland) **ME**: Middle East **ROW**: Rest of World

Preliminary analyses focus on Greece, France, and Spain, but provide a template for assessing patterns in other countries within the region. We focus on educational attainment and employment as primary indicators of social inclusion. Our analysis reveals dynamic profiles and distinct outcomes for immigrants in these countries over the last 40 years. Educational attainment and employment rates among immigrants in Greece have decreased during the last 40 years. As educational attainment among native-born Greeks has improved, Greece has turned to foreign labor to fill low-skilled jobs making it an attractive destination for low-skilled workers. In France, a history of immigration of low-skill workers in the early years has given way to a more highly educated group of immigrants in the contemporary period. Despite a long history of non-European immigration, we find evidence of discrimination against third-country workers. In Spain, economic shocks have driven employment outcomes for the native-born and migrants. Gaps between EU and third-country migrants and narrower, but opportunities are poorer overall.

Greece

Between 1971 and 2011, educational attainment among migrants and native-born Greeks converged. During the 1970s and 1980s, migrants to Greece from North America and southeast Europe had much higher levels of education than Greeks. Beginning in the 1990s, Greece became a destination for migrants from Albania, Poland, and other former Soviet Countries. Migrants from these nations had slightly lower levels of educational attainment than previous migrants and more closely resembled native-born Greeks. As educational attainment among native-born Greeks increased, so did competition between migrants and non-migrants for work. Preference for the native-born and EU-migrants, exacerbated by the economic recession of the late 2000s, has made the Greek labor market unappealing for more highly-educated migrants from outside the EU. Greeks and EU-migrants had lower levels of unemployment (table 2) and were less likely to be overqualified for their jobs than other migrants with similar levels of education in 2011 (table 1). Low-skilled migrants were less likely to be unemployed than native-born residents with similar levels of education and less likely to be unemployed than migrants with more education. Migrants in all education groups were much more likely to overqualified for their jobs, however, suggesting that migrants are filling lower-skilled jobs that undesirable to native-born Greeks. Migrants in Greece are much more likely to be overqualified for

Figure 3: Educational Attainment at time of immigration to Greece
Persons age 25+ with secondary-level education or higher (%), migrants arrived to Greece in previous 5 years compared to non-migrants



their job than any other study group. Low-education migrants from Middle-Eastern countries had low unemployment in 2011 (table 2). More highly-educated migrants from this region faced poor labor force outcomes in 2011. As a result, recent arrivals have less education than other migrant cohorts. In 2011, the majority of migrants who arrived to Greece from outside the European Union in 2011 had not completed secondary school (table 3). As educational attainment among native-born and resident migrants in Greece continues to increase, low-skill migrants may play an important role in the Greek labor force.

Table 1: Percent overqualified according to ISCO skill-level guidelines, persons age 25+ by nativity and region of birth, Greece 2011

	Primary	Secondary	University
Native-born	15.1	81.1	35.6
Foreign-born			
EU	48.7	92.9	52.8
Middle East	28.2	95.7	78.1
Rest of world	36.5	95.5	78.5

Table 2: Unemployment rate (%), persons age 25+ by nativity, region of birth, sex, and educational attainment, Greece 2011

	Less than primary			Primary			Secondary			University		
	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem
Native-born	27.3	34.0	24.6	19.9	20.2	18.5	17.1	15.3	18.7	13.5	11.4	15.1
Foreign-born												
EU	18.5	20.3	16.3	17.8	19.9	15.6	19.3	21.7	17.5	13.9	13.0	14.4
Middle East	11.2	8.6	60.0	20.3	19.8	40.0	27.6	29.2	7.1	24.8	22.0	50.0
Rest of world	24.3	25.0	20.5	22.3	23.0	20.3	23.2	25.7	19.4	21.0	24.0	18.7

Table 3: Educational attainment (%) among migrants age 25+ arrived to Greece in 2010 and 2011 by nativity and region of birth

	Native-born	EU	Middle East	Rest of world
Less than primary	8.3	8.4	44.2	12.5
Primary	36.7	35	24	42.6
Secondary	28.2	31.7	16.3	25.8
University	21.3	24.9	15.4	19.1

France

Dissimilar to Greece, educational attainment among immigrants has mirrored educational attainment of the native born across time. Figure 4 shows similar trends in educational attainment among immigrants and the native-born population in France since 1975. Educational attainment among non-EU migrants and the native-born are particularly comparable. Despite these similarities, migrants from outside the EU have experienced consistently poor employment outcomes in France since the mid-1970s. Gaps between native-born and non-EU migrants are larger in France than in Greece or Spain. Disparities in employment outcomes are the most severe for those with secondary and university education. Unemployment rates for non-EU migrants in these education groups were more than triple rates for the native-born in 2011. Likewise, university-educated migrants from outside the EU were nearly twice as likely to be overqualified for their jobs than the native-born and EU-migrants in 2011. Unemployment was high for non-EU migrants across all education levels in 2011 (table 4). Migrants from non-EU countries with primary education or less experienced the highest rates of unemployment of any group in 2011 (table 4).

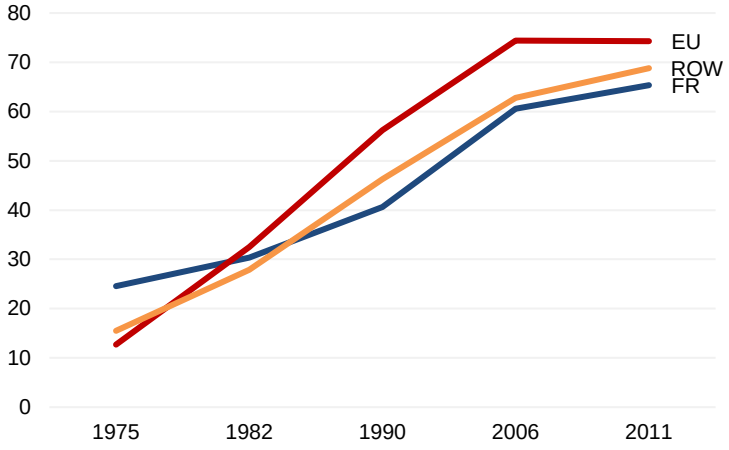
Table 4: Unemployment rate (%), persons age 25+ by nativity, region of birth, sex, and educational attainment, France 2011

	Less than primary			Primary			Secondary			University		
	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem
Native-born	20.4	19.2	22.2	14.1	13.7	15.1	10.0	9.2	11.9	5.7	5.6	6.4
Foreign-born												
EU	10.3	9.7	11.2	12.1	10.6	13.9	12.3	10.2	15.3	9.6	6.7	12.1
Rest of world	32.6	27.7	39.3	31.8	27.7	37.4	29.5	26.1	34.9	23.0	18.2	28.6

Data show a preference for EU-migrant labor across all education groups in France and a reliance on workers from within the EU to fill low-skilled jobs. Preference for EU labor is particularly evident among women with less than primary education. In 2011, unemployment among female EU migrants with less than primary education was 11.2 compared with 39.3 for female migrants from outside the EU (table 4). These trends point to discrimination against migrants from outside the EU. Preference for EU labor over French-speaking migrants from North and West Africa has important implications for the incorporation of migrants from other

Figure 4: Educational Attainment at time of immigration to France

Persons age 25+ with secondary-level education or higher (%), migrants arrived to France since previous census compared to non-migrants



regions of the world without colonial or linguistic ties to France.

Table 5: Percent overqualified according to ISCO skill-level guidelines, persons age 25+ by nativity and region of birth, France 2011

	Primary	Secondary	University
Native-born	13.8	75.8	26.0
Foreign-born			
EU	23.0	76.5	28.9
Rest of world	24.4	83.8	44.5

Table 6: Educational attainment (%) among migrants age 25+ arrived to France in 2010 and 2011 by country/region of birth

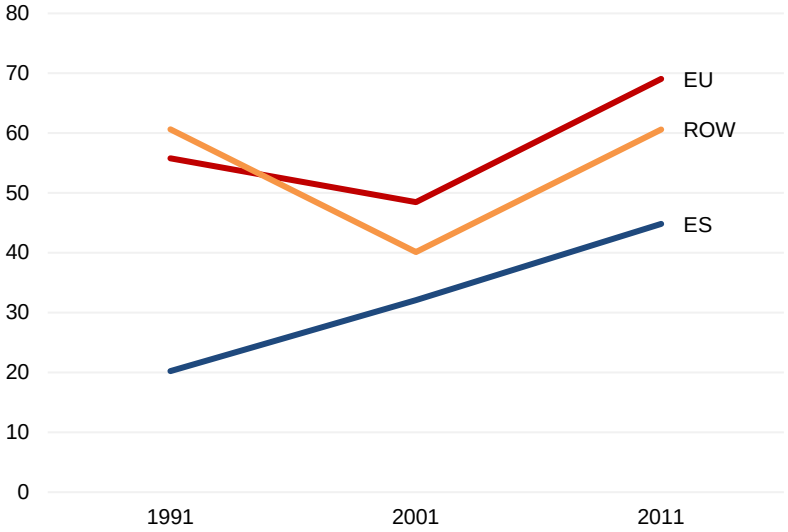
	Native-born	EU	Rest of world
Less than primary	14.1	20.1	14.4
Primary	20.5	11.1	11.2
Secondary	39.1	21.3	24.8
University	26.3	47.5	49.5

Furthermore, we find nearly half of immigrants who arrived in 2010 or 2011 came from the highest (completed university) education groups (table 5). As these migrants integrate into the French labor force, disparities in employment status and overqualification may become even more pronounced.

Spain

Gaps in educational attainment between migrants and native-born are higher in Spain than in any other study country. Since the early 1990s, migrants arriving to Spain have had higher levels of education than the native-born. By 2011, more than 60 percent of migrants age 25 and older had secondary education or higher compared to 45 percent of native-born Spaniards. Despite this educational advantage, migrants from all regions faced higher levels of unemployment than native-born persons in 2011 (table 6). Compared to France and Greece, overall levels of unemployment were high.

Figure 5: Educational Attainment at time of immigration to Spain
Persons age 25+ with secondary-level education or higher (%), migrants arrived to Spain during previous year compared to non-migrants



Gaps between EU and non-EU migrants, however, are narrowest in Spain. The majority of migrants to Spain from other EU countries are

beyond working age. With a smaller stock of working-age migrants from within the EU, migrants from outside the EU compete directly with native-born Spaniards for employment. Notably, unemployment rates among migrants in the middle education groups (primary and secondary) from outside the EU were on par with rates for migrant from other EU countries. Migrants from the Middle East arriving to Spain in recent years are highly educated; over 90 percent of migrants from the region who arrived to Spain in 2010 and 2011 had completed secondary education or higher. As more recent data become available, integration outcomes for this group over time should be assessed and used to inform refugee relocation policies.

Table 7: Unemployment rate (%), persons age 25+ by nativity, region of birth, sex, and educational attainment, Spain 2011

	Less than primary			Primary			Secondary			University		
	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem	Total	Male	Fem
Native-born	46.3	42.7	50.0	34.5	29.1	41.4	20.3	16.3	24.3	13.0	10.7	15.1
Foreign-born												
EU	57.1	50.9	63.6	42.2	39.7	45.3	34.7	31.9	37.9	20.6	16.3	25.1
Middle East	68.6	71.7	39.4	45.4	36.6	42.6	32.2	35.7	44.8	31.3	31.7	35.4
Rest of world	54.0	51.6	58.0	44.2	45.9	42.0	38.5	38.4	38.6	30.4	27.1	33.4

Table 8: Educational attainment (%) among migrants age 25+ arrived to Spain in 2010 and 2011 by nativity and region of birth

	Native-born	EU	Middle East	Rest of world
Less than primary	12.0	2.5	1.9	8.4
Primary	43.1	29.8	7.6	30.1
Secondary	31.9	39.2	33.4	32.2
University	12.9	28.5	57.1	29.2

Discussion and next steps

Certain observable and unobservable characteristics distinguish migrants from the native-born of a nation. The economic, political, and historical contexts of the host country interact with these individual characteristics to facilitate or impede the integration of migrants over time. In this paper, we begin to build historical profiles of immigrants in Greece, France, and Spain to identify the distinct environments new arrivals will face. Across Europe, migrants are more likely to be unemployed and more likely to overqualified for their jobs than their native-born peers. When these trends are disaggregated by country of destination, region of origin, sex, and level of education, unique challenges emerge.

In Greece, where many refugees may indefinitely reside, immigration of the highly-educated has given way to the importation of low-skill workers. As the native-born population has acquired more education, educated third-country workers have become disadvantaged compared to their native-born and EU-born peers. Disparities in unemployment between educated (secondary or higher) migrants and the

native-born are smaller in Greece than in France or Spain, but these individuals are more likely to be overqualified for their jobs than non-EU migrants in France[4]. Third-country migrants in Greece from the lowest education group (less than primary) are unique. Migrants in this group are the only population studied that has lower levels of unemployment than their native-born peers. Migrants from the Middle East in this education group had higher rates of employment than both native-born and European-born individuals with similar levels of education. There may be demand for low-skill migrant labor in Greece, but preliminary data show that very few new arrivals from Syria are in this education group. Migrants with higher educational attainment may face challenges in finding skill-appropriate work in Greece.

In France, migrants from outside the European Union are disadvantaged in the labor force across all education levels. Despite increasing educational attainment among immigrants over time, French and EU-migrants have a clear advantage in the labor market over migrants from outside the EU. Highly educated migrants from outside the EU were three times as likely to be unemployed than native-born individuals in these education groups. Among workers with lower levels of education (primary or less), migrants from within the EU have lower levels of unemployment than the native-born. Across all education groups, migrants from outside the EU are nearly three times as likely to be unemployed than migrants from within the EU. These disparities are even more pronounced among women. The imbalance may be related to the availability of EU labor in France; roughly half of all migrants in the country come from other EU countries, compared to a third or less in France and Spain. It may also be indicative of discrimination in the French labor market, particularly against women from outside the EU. In the case of preference for workers from culturally similar countries, even over French-speaking migrants from Muslim and African countries, Syrian refugees who lack linguistic and cultural ties to France may face significant barriers in the labor market.

Where educational attainment among migrants and the native-born has converged in Greece and France, large gaps between these groups persist in Spain. Migrants from within and outside the EU have higher levels of educational attainment than the native-born. This educational advantage notwithstanding, migrants in all education groups are more likely to be unemployed than the native-born. Disparities between EU and non-EU migrants are narrower in Spain than in Greece and France. The size of working-age EU-migrant population in Spain is small compared to this population in Greece and France and relative to the non-EU migrant population in Spain. Three-quarters of migrants in Spain come from outside the EU. From this perspective, refugees from Syria and elsewhere may be more competitive in the labor market. Migrants in Spain from the Middle East are highly educated; integration outcomes for this group will provide important insight for relocation policy in the country and across the continent.

[4] Occupation data not available for Spain 2011

Future work will examine trends in industry and occupation and employ multivariate techniques to assess discrimination in European labor markets. We will also take advantage of improvements to geographic variable in the IPUMS samples that enable disaggregation by sub-national areas to identify trends and within these and other countries.

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